മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ (*Pazhayannur*).— ഓരോന്നായി ഏല കേഷൻ നടത്തുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു വളരെ കഴപ്പും വരാനിടയുണ്ട്. അതുകൊ ണ്ടു മൂന്നംക്രടി ഒരു സമയം നടത്തുവാൻ ആർഡർ ഇട്ടാൽ കൊള്ളാം. ഇതു ഗവമ്മെൻറിന്റെ ദൃഷ്ടിൽ കൊണ്ടുവരുവാൻ മാത്രമാണു ഞാൻ ഇതുയും പറഞ്ഞതു.

Motion that the Cochin Village Panchayat Regulation Amendment Bill be taken up and passed was put and carried.

The Cochin Co-operative Societies Bill.

Mr. K. Narayana Menon (*Registrar of Co-operative Societies*).—I beg to move that the Cochin Co-operative Societies Bill may be taken up and finally passed.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran (*Government Advocate and Law Officer*).—I second it.

Motion was put and carried.

The Cochin Village Panchayat Regulation Amendment Bill—Sec. 27.

Mr. A. Narayana Menon (*Vyttila*).—I beg to move that the Cochin Village Panchayat Regulation Amendment Bill be taken up and finally passed.

Mr. M. V. Cherian (*Mattancherri South*).—I second it.

Motion was put and carried.

The Cochin Free Compulsory Primary Education Bill.

* **Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan** (*Vadakkancheri*).—I beg to move that the Cochin Free Compulsory Primary Education Bill be taken up and passed. In doing so I am constrained, by a series of circumstances, to advert to various facts concerning the real position of primary education in the State. There seems to be a great deal of misapprehension regarding the exact position at which the State is in the matter of mass literacy. The impression seems to be running in the minds of the people here as also amongst the people outside the State, probably caused

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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by various sorts of references to the high percentage of literacy made in official reports as also on the platforms on various occasions. But the real position seems to be something which is not what is stated to be. To bring out the point that the percentage of mass literacy in the State is not so high as we think it is, I have only to invite the attention of this House to the particular paragraph in the Census report of 1931 prepared after great labour and with great correctness. That report tells us in unmistakable terms that the real percentage of literacy in our State is the small figure of 47. Forty-seven is the percentage of literacy in the State. I am referring to paragraph 22 of the Census Report and the subsidiary tables appended to it.

"We find that out of a total population of 1,78,516 children aged 6 to 12, as many as 87,226 or 48.8 per cent inclusive of 42.3 per cent of boys and 55.6 per cent of girls have never attended any school and to this number must be added 3610 boys and 3216 girls who left school before they completed their primary course and who therefore represent the wastage in primary education. The percentage of children aged 6 to 12 years who are at school (including the few that have left the school after successfully completing their primary course) is but 47. These figures will form a proper basis on which the question of compulsory primary education may be discussed and the educational policy of the Durbar revised if necessary." This is the observation.

That compulsion will be necessary and that compulsion will be the only way of extending mass literacy amongst at least a section of the people of the State was recognised by the Government so long ago as 1094. We find in the administration report of 1094 an observation to this effect. After observing that the education is still backward among Muhammadans and Ezhuvas the report stated that no class may be allowed to lag behind and it will be the duty to provide free and compulsory primary education which is the only guarantee for the spread of literacy in the State. I am referring to the position of affairs in 1094. My respectful submission is that even at this distance of time we are not far advanced than the position in which we were regarding these communities and various other communities. The real percentage being 47, as I read out to you, it has become absolutely necessary, if we want to keep up the name that we are far advanced in the matter of literacy, to devise means.

It was stated on behalf of the Government both by the Honourable Member for Education as also the Diwan President on two occasions when this bill was before the House,— both when I introduced the Bill in last Meenam and also when the Select Committee report was considered in last Makaram— that what is achieved in other parts of India through compulsion has

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been achieved by Cochin without resorting to compulsion. It was stated in support of that position that as many as 80 per cent of the school-going age are attending schools. As a matter of fact I do not dispute that statement. I seriously ask the question with what result. Cochin children of the school-going age, the age being 6 to 12, being at school to the tune of 80 per cent, have we achieved anything far in the matter of mass literacy? The answer will be no. If you take into consideration the fact that all the children that enter class 1, which alone is taken to strike the percentage of 80, do not in the first place go to class 2 and again that the whole number of class 2 do not go to class 3 you can find that by the time any particular number that entered class 1 in a particular year reach class 4 after a course of 4 or 5 years, it is one-fifth of that number alone, the remaining number having fallen out either at the end of the first or second year, at any rate not completing the whole course of primary education. You will, therefore, be pleased to find that this difference between the number that reaches class 4 and the number that actually entered class 1 represents the wastage in primary education. The object of compulsion is that not only persons who are unwilling to send their children are forced to send them to school but also to see that they are kept at school till the age of compulsion is reached thus attempting to avoid a very great wastage in education. That is one of the objects, perhaps a better object than the very fact of the children being brought to school. There is absolutely no use of taking any number of children to the school giving them the benefit of education for a year or two and allowing them to lapse into illiteracy. Of course there may be a few block-heads who will not get through the classes regularly. But that stands only as an exception. Normally we can expect children to get through within four or five years. Therefore what I submit is that when you consider the wastage in primary education the fact that you are able to show more statistics, that 80 per cent of the children of school going age are at school, is not an answer to the question whether compulsion has to be resorted to or not. To achieve this object and for preventing wastage in primary education compulsion has to be resorted to. That will keep the child at least a number of years in school thereby giving him the benefit of literacy. This feeling is seen to be running high in the minds of the Government when they say that even without compulsion we have been able to achieve results tolerably good. Now on the previous occasion when the Bill was before this House the Government has stated and rightly so that they do not oppose the introduction of a measure like

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compulsory primary education although according to them even without compulsion they have been able to achieve much. At any rate they do not oppose. Those Hon'ble Members of this House who opposed the consideration in Makaram also did not oppose the measure on the ground that they are not in agreement with me or the supporters of the Bill. Regarding the (necessity I am corrected by my Hon'ble friend on the right regarding the) utility of the measure there is a concensus of opinion existing. Regarding the necessity also there is a concensus of opinion among at least a very large section of the non-officials, my friend the Hon'ble Member for Chittur (Rural) being the only exception. The only point of objection on the part of a numerically strong party of this House was that they could not possibly support this measure if the placing of this measure on the Statute Book is to be immediately followed by the question of taxation either in the form of a general cess or a special cess. That seems to be the only ground on which they have opposed this measure last time. I studied the speeches of every Honourable Member of that section and I find that this alone was the point of objection. If I am able to show that there is great necessity for the measure, I think that, as reasonable men, they have to change their attitude towards this measure in view of certain facts which I will presently place before them and thereby enable me to carry this bill through this House. Of course I think that the Government will stick to their position as was given out to me this morning that a reasonable attitude will be taken by them. I take it that the reasonable attitude which the Government took on the former stages of the bill will be maintained by the Government this time also. I am sure that will be the attitude of Government. So I find that my way is very clear.

I have only to place certain facts before the House. For the use of the Select Committee that was appointed to consider this bill, the Deputy Inspector of the Division, under orders of the Chairman who happened to be the Director of Public Instruction, had prepared a report after due investigation. It was conducted through responsible teachers under him and they have come to certain conclusions. That report was submitted to the Chairman of the Select Committee and I had the benefit of perusing and having a copy of the report. I would immediately make reference to certain passages contained in the report as also the schedule attached to it. At the time of the last reading of the bill in Makaram I found a sort of change in the mind of the honourable member for Chittur from the one

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that he took up in Meenam last. Passages there are in the printed reports of the proceedings of the meeting in Meenam 1111 to the effect that the Honourable Member for Chittur (Rural) was not satisfied with the percentage of literacy obtaining in his area. Now I will immediately give the statistics prepared by a responsible officer of the Department of Education. I am referring to five schools in the constituency of my honourable friend for Chittur — Vannamada, Meenakshipuram, Kairadi, Arandapallam and Adiparanda. There are three other schools which were also subjected to the same treatment by the same officer from the constituency of my friend sitting just before the leader of my party—Vennur, Thrikanaya and Potta. I will just read the portion of the report. He for the purposes of this investigation made the teachers under him prepare statistics of children within a radius of 1½ miles from these schools which I will read out to you to find out the number of children of school-going age and out of that number the number of students that attends one school or another, thus finding out the number that is remaining at home and also the reason why they remain at home. In certain cases it was want of inclination, in certain other cases it was the obstinacy on the part of the parents to send their children to school, in certain other cases want of means to send the children and again in certain other cases the distance of the schools being too much for little children. The particular village that is Arandapallam which according to the survey has an area of 1½ miles contained 188 children of school going age. That is a school which I had occasion to see with the permission of the Director of Public Instruction some two weeks back. I found a decent new building put up there. I was told that that school had but three classes. The total strength of these three classes—if it were a private school ought to be 90, whereas in this particular case for the sole reason of that being a Sirkar school—instead of 90 you have got only 19 children. It is an area containing 188 children with a pukka building. There 169 remain outside the pale of the school. Out of this 169, 99 do not attend the school and are remaining at home in wilful neglect. 57 of the remaining number live within a distance of one mile. Now you find a clear case of an educational institution existing with arrangements and accommodation existing for taking a larger number of students than the number that actually attends. If this is not a case of an identical place for selection for introducing compulsion I ask which other place will selected for such purposes. I ask the Government of Cochin whether this is a situation which is quite all right, whether

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this is a situation which does not require some more stringent action being taken in order to keep up our fair name of being a fairly literally advanced State.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi)*.—Not fairly. It is the first in India in point of literacy.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassn *(Vadakkancheri)*.—You can boast and boast but the fact remains that the percentage is only 47.

Now I will refer to another school in the Pazhayannur constituency. Potta is a place—I am sorry the Hon'ble Member representing Mussalamans is not here—having a large percentage of Muslim students. Within 1½ miles there are 550 children of school going age. But, mark you, only 94 are attending the school, 456 remaining at home. Of this, 408 are persons who could attend school but who are not willing to attend the school. In the case of the 408 children at home, it is not want of facilities but it is the direct result of their parents not being willing to send them to school. That is an ideal place where you have to introduce compulsion and but for the introduction of compulsion, this state of affairs will not improve. I am sure that the Director of Public Instruction will in all probability have seen both these schools and studied things for himself. Here is a responsible officer's statement of figures, the original of which must be in the hands of the Director in his capacity as chairman of the Select Committee. I do not read all the figures. These are the most outstanding figures. Meenakshipuram is a school having a small number of 82 children in the said area.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur Rural)*.—What is the population?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*.—I have no idea of the population. The population must be a very large one. That is my first impression on seeing the place. I do not know how far I am correct. I saw a large number of persons gathered there for a certain function, Primary Teachers' Conference. Most of the people must have been belonging to that place. Only a small number might have come to witness the function out of curiosity. If I am not correct, the Hon'ble Member for Chittur may enlighten the House as to the approximate population. Here there are 82 children, only 46 attending, school 36 not attending. Subsequent to this report I

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understand that this officer has been conducting a similar investigation with regard to all the other primary schools in the State. Since he has not completed the investigation he has not submitted his report. Both the Taluks of Talappilly and Chittur will be more or less on the same footing with the exception of a few schools that are in the town of Chittur, the so-called town of Vadakkancherri and the town of Kunnamkulam and probably Chelakkara. These are places where people are more thickly populated and where they are in well-to-do circumstances. In these particular areas the percentage may be appreciable but in the interior of both the Taluks of Talappilly and Chittur the position is as what I have explained. According to the census, the percentage of literacy in the Chittur Taluk is only 24 while in my own Taluk, Talappilli, it is below 50. Most of the Members seem to be determined that Cochin is highly literate. Even that 47 percentage is had by the exertion both of the Government and a host of missionaries working in the field of education. In this particular Taluk of Cochin Kanayannur, wherever you go you can come accross a school and each school that you visit has a fairly good number of children.

During the Makaram meeting the Diwan President was pleased to say that most of those schools he visited were housed in very bad buildings. He went on to say that instead of having more schools it is desirable if funds permit to improve the existing schools.

It is stated that we have a very high percentage of literacy, something about 47 per cent. This huge percentage is contributed by this Taluk and the Trichur Taluk. The Kanayannur Taluk has got a 90 percent literacy. I am even envious of this taluk. Probably the reason for the opposition of a section of this House may be due to the fact that they are able to see schools everywhere and the percentage of literacy is nearly 90 per sent round them. They are more and more in touch with this high percentage. I will only request them just to send their eyes on to the frontiers of Chittur as also the Talappilli Taluk. If they come to know the real state of affairs there I am sure they will lend us their support just to see that Chittur and Talappilli come up at least by a small percentage higher than the one that they are enjoying now.

The necessity for compulsion has been fairly established in certain parts of the State even if taxation will be necessary. The small percentage of literacy in parts like Chittur and

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Talappilli will spoil the fair name of Cochin and Kanayannur. I am trying to convince you that taxation will not be necessary to introduce compulsion in certain selected areas. The Diwan President was pleased to say that Government will be pleased to place this bill on the statute book and the moment it is passed the Government will be entitled to see that the most deserving areas are selected. His first attempt would be, he said, that if compulsion can be introduced without taxation it will be so done but if found absolutely necessary he will consider the question of taxation. These were his very words. I am not going to traverse perhaps the unhappy ground how the House having once accepted that compulsion is necessary now say that they would vote for the measure only if Government gives them an assurance that no additional cess will be imposed on the people. But that is beside the point.

The Diwan President was pleased to say the other day that he would institute a committee taking into confidence the non-officials to go into the question of all possible retrenchment in the educational budget. I agree that we spend nearly 25 per cent of the gross revenue upon education. In Travancore the percentage is almost the same. There are other States which also spend large amounts. The percentage for Baroda, Mysore and Travancore for the year 1107 is 18.3, 19 and 20.6, our percentage during that year being only 15.3.

Mr. President.—The budgets of different Governments are prepared in different manners. What exactly is the net revenue, what exactly is the gross revenue is different from Government to Government. So this kind of percentage to the revenues of a State will be most misleading. In calculating the percentage they might have taken the gross income or they might have taken the net income.

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction).*—In many States the educational budget include educational expenses, cost of building, etc. But here it is not so. Buildings and all those things come under a different department.

Mr. President.—I have been attempting to compare the educational expenses between Madras and Cochin, but I find that without a good deal of information it will not be possible to arrive at correct figures.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Pallippuram).*—This State was spending 20 to 21 lakhs of rupees when the total revenue was 75 to 80 lakhs.

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Mr. President.—Really the proper basis for calculation should be to take the net revenue.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancherri).*—Sir, I will accept the alleged hollowness of these figures and still maintain my position. What I am going to prove is that without going in for additional taxation we will be able to find funds for introducing compulsory primary education in selected areas. I was also referring to the statement of the Diwan President that immediately this bill gets through this stage it will be placed on the Statute Book and he would appoint a committee including non-officials to go into a proper retrenchment in the educational budget. On that occasion the Diwan President was pleased to refer to one side of the educational budget. An assurance has been given by the Diwan to the effect that no fresh expenditure upon the College will be incurred. The expenditure upon collegiate education is something large for a tiny State like ours. It cannot afford not only the B. A. courses, but even the B.Sc. courses according to me is a luxury. Let it be borne in mind that upon this white elephant no more additional funds should be spent except to run the departments. But I happened to read in some of the papers that we are going to open some more branches of studies, Malayalam and Sanskrit. That would necessitate the employment of additional staff. If I were to say that those branches should not be opened, the branches of studies being Malayalam and Sanskrit in a State like Cochin which is considered to be the centre of Kerala, it may be asked, are you going against the interests of the position of Cochin when you suggest that such branches should not be opened. What I say is that you should not spend any additional amount. I know that the saving under collegiate education will not be large. You will not be able to effect much retrenchment.

Now let us turn our attention to the branch of education between Collegiate Education and Primary Education, viz. secondary Education. The secondary department consists of very many Government run schools with a fair intermingling of private owned and private managed schools. If you will study the field of secondary education and the way in which these institutions are distributed, I am certain that many a Sirkar school could be abolished and they have to be abolished. If really a retrenchment could be effected, that saving can be utilised for furthering Primary education. I have every reason to think that by a proper redistribution of secondary education there will be a large saving. With this object in view I have tabled for this Session itself two

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resolutions one a general one and the other a particular pointed deliberate one.

It is in the Chittur Taluk that compulsion is to be introduced. It is in that Taluk that one finds a High School a superfluity. The Girls High School, Chittur contains, in all the lower and upper secondary classes together, somewhere near 25 students.

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction).*—It is much more than 25, I can say. In the Lower secondary classes there is a fair strength but the number in the upper secondary classes is not large.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancherri).*—This was the fate of the school ever since it was started. The school is not only a luxury, it is something far far beyond luxury. There is a High School in Chittur for Boys and the plea of the present Director of Education is for mixed study. I too had the foolishness to ask once for an upper secondary school for Girls at Wadakkancherri and the Government were pleased or were foolish enough to give a lower secondary Girls School for Wadakkancherri. I am pointing out only a particular instance where much retrenchment can be effected in the department of Secondary Education. You will be able to save a lot and that can be utilised for introducing compulsory Primary Education in selected areas. Then with regard to the expenditure incurred by Government on a Sirkar Secondary School and an Aided Secondary School I have to say that the expenditure on Sirkar Schools are indeed large. The cost of a pupil in the Sirkar High School, Trichur to the Government is Rs. 18—5—0, but the cost of a pupil in the St. Thomas High School is only Rs. 2. But in the C. M. S. High School, the average cost per pupil comes to Rs. 6—7—0.

Mr. President.—The Hon'ble Member is trying to show that the cost of education in Sirkar Secondary School is higher, but the Hon'ble Member will remember that Government had to take over a private School under Sirkar Management at the Hon'ble Member's speech request.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri).*—I placed the whole case before Government. Government was pleased to order that being convinced of the real state of affairs they were pleased to take up the school and for that we are also thankful to Government.

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But that does not deter me from pointing out that much retrenchment can be effected in Secondary Education. What I wish to point out is that the cost per pupil in a Sirkar School is much higher than the cost per pupil in a private managed school. The cost per pupil in the Vi. J. Girls High School is Rs. 38. What I suggest is to hand over both Boys and Girls High Schools to private management. If Government can find its way to do that we can have a large saving in Secondary Educational expenses which can be utilised for advancing primary education.

Mr. K. Ayyappan (*Ezhuvas South*).—Are there competent men to take up the management? Can the Hon'ble Member for Vadakkancherri himself take up the management of some Schools?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan (*Vadakkancherri*).—There are competent gentlemen who are willing to take up the schools. I might myself probably take up the management of some school.

My point is only that by effecting proper retrenchment in secondary education much money can be had. The introduction of compulsion in absolutely necessary areas will not cost much to the Government. Further the bill is not for introducing compulsion throughout the State. The selection is left entirely in the hands of Government. Therefore I urge that, with this prospect of effecting a fair amount of cut in the field of secondary education, compulsory primary education can be introduced without a special cess in selected areas with no great difficulty.

If this bill is passed by the House it is possible for Government at the earliest possible date, say in the year 1113, to introduce compulsion in particular areas like Arandapallam and Potta. From the figures I find that Potta which is in the Talappilli Taluq seems to be the one which should be given the first chance.

My submission therefore is that the question of Finance, more especially the question of additional taxation which seems to have frightened many of my Hon'ble Friends, could not stand in the way of their whole-hearted support for this Bill.

The Leader of the Democratic party was pleased to tell me that if from the figures I can prove the necessity of compulsion in places like Arandapallam, Potta, etc., and if I can also prove

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that necessary funds can be found from retrenchment they will give their whole-hearted support to my bill.

For instance in Arandapallam, there is a big building and a good number of teachers. Therefore much will not have to be spent for introducing compulsion there. The number of children who will have to be compelled is also small. These 60 pupils will have to be given one meal and a few cloths each. Such help will have to be given when we have to introduce compulsion.

The House rose for lunch at 1 p. m. and reassembled at 2-15 p. m. with the Deputy President (M. R. Ry. A. Sankara Menon Avl. B. A. & B. L.) in the Chair.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*— Mr. President, Sir, I was on the point of the compartive costs of secondary education imparted in Sirkar Schools and secondary schools owned by private agencies. I have shown that while the expenditure per head of pupil in private owned secondary schools ranges from 2 rupees to Rs. 6. 7. 0, in the case of Government schools the expenditure per head of pupil ranges from Rs. 18 to Rs. 38. Hence if a device is found out by which secondary education could be imparted to the pupils that do really want secondary education through the agency of aided secondary schools and not through Sirkar schools there would be a large saving

Then again coming down to the primary department we find from the answers given by the Government that the average cost of Government for the maintenance of a sirkar primary school is Rs. 2008 per year the average expenditure for an aided primary school in respect of grants is only Rs. 750 per year. There is a great difference between Rs. 750 and Rs. 2008. I am speaking of the existing conditions regarding aided primary schools as against conditions obtaining in Sirkar Primary schools. The clamour on the part of the aided school teachers is only that the amount may be paid direct to them. So if a proper committee of retrenchment consisting of persons who know their business is appointed the Government will be able to effect a good amount of saving which can be utilised for purposes of advancing primary education.

Sir, I come back to the statement of the President during Makaram session. It has been stated that if the committee succeed in pointing out sufficient funds for imparting compulsory primary education in select areas the Government is prepared to accept the position and not tax the people. Then comes the

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question of tax. To say that the Government should assure this House that no tax under any circumstances will be levied and then alone will the bill be supported it is an impossible proposition. Some of my friends told me that they have not been convinced. But it must be due to the absence of convincing eloquence as my friend puts it. I have attempted in my humble way to show that there is scope for sufficient-retrenchment to be effected in the education Department itself. This could be utilised for extending-primary education. To say that the Government should give a categorical statement that for purposes of introducing compulsion in the department of primary education no tax will be levied under any circumstance to ask for such a statement from the Government will be to ask for the impossible. No Government can give it. No government ought to give it .In the statement already given by the Government what this House wants is this. It is only in the event of money not being found by retrenchment that taxation will be resorted to. It was in that juncture that the Diwan was asking for the co-operation of the house for taxation. My respectful submission to the house and to my Hon'ble colleagues here is that they may be pleased to find the following facts, that there is the absolute-necessity for the introduction of compulsion in particular areas as pointed out by me. After introducing compuslion under the sections of the regulation that is now being considered the additional expenditure will in the first place be required to find out housing accommdation for the schools to be put up if one is necessary to be put up, i. e., if the available school is not commodious enough to take in the extra number of students. I have pointed out that there are various schools in the State which till take in additional students. I have pointed out to you that in the case of one school in Chittur only one additional teacher has to be appointed for 90 students. Likewise the school at Potta runs two classes in a big building that will take five divisions. Perhaps some amount of money will be necessary to give one or two clothes, and the noon meals as also books. If the committee recommends that a certain number of pupils attending a particular school be given a meal then necessarily it has to be given. These are the extra items of expenditure that will have to be incurred by Government in introducing compulsion in a particular area. This is not a huge figure. Well, you remember that compulsion is not to be introduced throughout the state all at once. It is localities like the one that I have pointed out that will have to be touched first. For that no taxation will be necessary. If you are convinced that taxation is not necessary to introduce compulsion in

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absolutely necessary areas I hope I can expect the vote of the House.

If there is available a certian amount, say for example, 20 or 50 thousand rupees, any figure available by retrenchment, you need introduce compulsion only to that extent. The bill only says that particular areas be selected. It is open to the Government to say "with the available funds we can introduce compulsion only in three or four areas. We shall not go further before we get further amounts." The Government cannot be questioned if it does not go further than the extent to which they can go with the available funds. That fear the Government has no reason to entertain in their minds. Such being the state of affairs I reasonably hope that my bill will be allowed to be passed by this Council. If I have to say anything in reply to the argument advanced against this measure which I think will not be done I resereve it for my reply.

Mr. K. M. Kunhi Moideen. (*Kattur*). I second it.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon. *(Ernakulam South).* I am very much constrained to oppose the passage of this measure under the circumstances in which life is sought to be given to it. Far from arguing the question as to whether in any part of Cochin there is necessity for the introduction of compolsory primary education serious responsibility rests upon the elected representatives of the people in this matter in coming to a conclusion on the question whether in any scheme of legislation involving financial commitments it is not the duty of every Hon'ble M mber to have some approximate information before hand as to what would be that commitment and from what sources of revenue that expenditure can be drawn. Without any such data before us to argue that there are several possible means of retrenchment in the Education Department and that there are ways of retrechment in other departments also wherewith to meet the financial demands of this Bill is something very shadowy and it cannot be held for certain at this stage that all those pious hopes are realisable possibilities as distinguished from mere phantom fancies. Upon such uncertain grounds, it is risky to consent to an additional imposition of taxation to meet the probable heavy cost of enforcing this Bill when passed into Law. The Government have now constituted a retrenchment committee. The work of that committee is not over and if after the labours of the committee it is found that sufficient money is forthcoming to meet the demands then I do not think that the measure will meet with any disapproval.

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Then again, there is a resolution tabled by that very Hon'ble mover of the Bill to draw the pointed attention of the House to the fact that there is sufficient scope for the curtailment of expenditure in the Education Department. We are not at present in a position to know as to what its fate will be. In this plight when we look at the past history of the bill we find an unequivocal declaration made by the Government that the passage of this measure is tantamount to giving the Government a mandate for taxing the people. I know that in the present form of administration in Cochin, Government have got the liberty to tax the people without their consent. When such an authority does exists, if people themselves are going to agree to a further taxation without knowing what the nature or extent of those taxes will be, I think that it will be giving a blank cheque to the Government to go on imposing an education cess or any other kind of taxation. For my part I don't think for a moment that this bill can really be worked in Cochin without real responsible Government being established. Therefore, it has become our imperative duty to ask the Government whether they can give any indication on the floor of this House as to the class or classes of persons that will have to bear the education cess and the probable scale of such assessment regard being had to the rough total expenditure involved in the scheme of free compulsory primary education. Even in that question several other implications are involved. It need not be thought for a moment that the party which I represent is against all kinds of taxation. There are the rich people. There are the middle class people and there are the poor people. The rich man can afford to pay. The middle class can ill afford to pay and the poor cannot pay. By the passage of this measure the result may be that the middle class will be affected considerably. They may also be burdened with the responsibility of paying this additional tax which they cannot bear. Such considerations weigh with us. Is it an income tax or is it a land tax or is it a poll tax upon every adult subject of the Cochin State that is to be levied for the purpose of meeting this demand? Out of 12 lakhs of people even if we calculate half of the population to be adult then we have got 6 lakhs and we may get a large amount by levying a poll-tax. But whether that is sufficient to meet the cost of this Bill, there are no statistics. What is the amount of taxation to be indulged in? Is it five, ten or twenty lakhs? If persons who even now pay land revenue and who are not able to harvest their crops successfully for want of irrigation facilities are to be subjected to the extra cess, it will pauperise them. In these circumstances, this is not at all a light hearted

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measure, which on its own merits require approval reckless of the consequences it will entail on the people. Compulsory primary education is, no doubt, an ideal to be aimed at just as there are ever so many other ideals to be desired for in this little State of ours. But when trying to achieve any such ideal if we cut at the very root of the funtamental existance of the agriculturists for whose benefit we have not only instituted the Land Mortgage Bank but passed other relief measures, the responsibility can in no way be said to be lessened by the consideration that their children will be educated free. One Hon'ble Member of this House, whose name I don't wish to disclose but who is a thick friend of mine, with whom I had occasion to speak about this bill said "Most of our people are not tax payers nor have they any susceptible income to be taxed. By the passing of this bill our children will get free education." I can very well understand that position. That spirit, I presume, is the crux of this Bill. It is a very laudable object. But we apprehend that the Bill will be a Mighty Leveller of the middle class people in all Communities. Therefore, unless and until we know what the financial commitments would be and what will be the nature of the cess or taxation that is contemplated or whether by any scheme of retrenchment being brought into force sufficient funds will be available or whether by any other means of conceivable revenue yet to be tapped, the cost can be met-unless all this information is placed on the floor of this House we connot but think it our duty in the interests of the people who will be affected by it, to oppose this measure. It should never be misunderstood that our party opposes this bill on its merits.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*— No one said so.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon (*Ernakulam South*).—I saw it from the papers.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*— False reports.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Erakulam South).*—I am very glad that a statement is made by a responsible member of the other party that they are false reports.

Then I warn correspondents of those papers that they are demoralising the political life of the country by disseminating such false news.

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Therefore, I may say that there is no cleavage of duty in this respect between the respresentatives of the people. One can say that by opposing Free Compulsory Education Bill, one is prepetrating the greatest crime to mankind. That is an argument that will catch the ear and not the thinking mind. I do not think it wise that the non-official members should willingly give a free hand to the Government to tax the people. I have begun to feel ever since the last session that Government in their heart of hearts wish to see the passage of this bill through the House, in the light of the declaration made by them that the passage of this bill means that you agree to tax the people though not knowing what the amount required will be. No more could any non-official member rise up and say that government have taxed unnecessarily. They can at once reply by saying "You then agreed to taxation". Therefore, what I hasten to state is that without being apprised of the sources from which and the approximate amount of expenditure for enforcing this bill, I and my party regret their inability to vote for the passage of this Bill. We are not for taking a leap in the dark.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ (*Ezhuvas North*).— സർ, വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ വളരെ പിന്നോക്കം നില്ക്കുന്ന സമുദായങ്ങളുടെഅഭിവൃദ്ധിയെ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചാണ് ഈ നിയമം ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിരിക്കുന്നതു് എന്നുള്ളതു നിർവിവാദമായ ഒരു കാര്യമാണ്.

മിസ്റ്റർ എ. വി. മൂത്തേടൻ (*Chalakkudi*).— അതു ശരിയല്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ (*Ezhuvas North*).— ആരു പറഞ്ഞു? ഉച്ചതിരിഞ്ഞ സമയമായതുകൊണ്ടു തോന്നുന്നതോ വായിച്ചു നോക്കാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു തോന്നുന്നതോ ആയിരിക്കാം. നമ്മുടെ അയൽരാജ്യമായ ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യയിലെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശം സിദ്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ കാലത്തു നമ്മുടെ കൊച്ചീക്കാരുടെ കാര്യമൊന്നു ആലോചിച്ചുനോക്കുക. കൊച്ചീക്കാക്കാണെങ്കിൽ ത്രുപാകരം തീരുവ ഉള്ളവർക്കു മാത്രമെ നിയമസഭയിലേക്കു മേമ്പർമാരെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തു അയയ്ക്കുവാൻ അവകാശമുള്ളൂ. അങ്ങിനെ അഞ്ചുരൂപായും കൂടുതലും നികുതി കൊടുക്കുന്നവരാൽ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ടവരാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ. അതുകൊണ്ടു യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ സാധുക്കളുടെ പ്രതിനിധികളല്ല. ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യയിലാണെങ്കിൽ സാധുക്കളാൽ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെടുന്ന പ്രതിനിധികളാണ് അവിടെ ഭരണം നടത്തുന്ന പ്രതിനിധിസംഘം. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരുകാലം അടുത്തുതന്നെ അതായതു വിദൂരമല്ലാത്ത ഭാവിയിൽ കൊച്ചിയിൽ ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നു ഈ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പോക്കുകണ്ടാൽ ഏവർക്കും മനസിലാക്കാൻ സാധിക്കും. ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻ

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ഡ്യയിൽ ൨൦/൦ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവർ മാത്രം ഉള്ളപ്പോൾ നമ്മുടെ കൊച്ചിയിൽ ൫൦/൦ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവരുണ്ടെന്നു അഭിമാനിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കും. അക്ഷരജ്ഞാനമുള്ളവർ ൫൦/൦ ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും പൌരബോധവും ആത്മജ്ഞാനവും ഉള്ളവർ വളരെ കുറവാണെന്നു പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശം ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യയിൽ സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു അവരുടെ ധീരധീരമായ പോരാട്ടം കൊണ്ടാണ്. ധീരധീരമായ പോരാട്ടം കൊണ്ടു ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യാക്കാർ അവരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളെ സ്ഥാപിക്കുമ്പോൾ കൊച്ചീക്കാർ അടിമ മനോഭാവത്തോടുകൂടി വാലിൽ തൂങ്ങി കാക്കപിടിയിലാണ് ജീവിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ ദാസ്യമനോഭാവം വച്ചുകൊണ്ടു പൌരസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിനു കൊതിക്കുന്നതു് ആഭാസകരമാണ്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യയിലെ ഭാരതീയർക്കുള്ളതുപോലെ പൌരസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യംഇവിടെ എല്ലാ സംഗതികളിലും നമ്മൾക്കുണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നു നാം ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ പൌരബോധം ജനങ്ങളിൽ ഉല്പാദിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ സർവ്വജനീനമായ പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. ഇപ്പോൾ കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ കുബേരന്മാരായ കുടുംബങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും, സമുദായങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും, അവരുടെ സന്താനങ്ങളെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യിക്കുവാനുള്ള സൌകര്യമല്ലാതെ മറെറാന്നുമില്ല. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്റെ ചിലവുതന്നെ ഇപ്പോൾ വളരെ വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഞാൻ ചിറയ്ക്കൽ താലൂക്കിൽ നിർബന്ധ പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസബില്ലിനു തെളിവു ശേഖരിക്കുവാൻ പോയപ്പോൾ അവിടത്തെ ഒരു ഷൈലോക്കു പറഞ്ഞതു "പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിർബന്ധമാക്കുന്നതായാൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ കുഞ്ഞുങ്ങൾ പട്ടിണികിടക്കേണ്ടിവരും; ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കൃഷി ചെയ്യുവാനായി ഒരാളേയും കിട്ടുകയില്ല, ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കൃഷിചെയ്തിട്ടുവേണം ഞങ്ങളുടെ കുട്ടികളെ പഠിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ. ഈ നിയമം പാസായാൽ ഞങ്ങൾ കഷ്ടപ്പെടേണ്ടതായി വരും" എന്നൊക്കെയാണു്. ഞാൻ ഇതു കേട്ടു ആശ്ചര്യപ്പെട്ടു. ദരിദ്രന്മാരേയും സാധുസമുദായങ്ങളേയും കുതിരകയറിയിരുന്ന മുതലാളിമാരുടെ ദുഷ്പ്രഭുത്വം നശിക്കുമോയെന്നു അവർ ഭയപ്പെടുന്നതായി എനിക്കു അനുഭവപ്പെട്ടു.

ഇക്കഴിഞ്ഞ ഫർ-ാംനു- അന്തിക്കാട്ടുവച്ചു ദേശീയുണിയന്റെ അഭിമുഖ്യത്തിൽ കൂടിയ ഒരു യോഗത്തിൽ അന്നാതെ അദ്ധ്യക്ഷനായിരുന്നതു വളരെക്കാലം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവകുപ്പിൽ കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തിന്റെ നാനാഭാഗങ്ങളിലും അദ്ധ്യാപകവൃത്തിയിൽ ഇരുന്നിരുന്ന ദേഹവും കുറെകാലം സെൻട്രൽഡിവിഷൻ ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരായും കുറെകാലം തെക്കെ ഡിവിഷൻ ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരായും, ഇപ്പോൾ വടക്കെ ഡിവിഷൻ ഇൻസ്പെക്ടർ ആയിരിക്കുന്ന ദേഹവുമായ ശ്രീമാൻ ടി. കുഞ്ഞുണ്ണിമേനോൻ അവർകൾ എം. എ. എൽ. ടി. ആയിരുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹം അന്നു ചെയ്ത പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ ചിറയ്ക്കൽതാലൂക്കിലും തലപ്പിള്ളിതാലൂക്കിന്റെ കിഴക്കൻപ്രദേശങ്ങളിലും പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിർബന്ധമാക്കാ

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തെ അവിടെയുള്ളവരെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ലെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. വടക്കാഞ്ചേരി ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരും അതേ അഭിപ്രായംതന്നെ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇതിനെകവിഞ്ഞ വിദഗ്ധാഭിപ്രായം ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ചിറ്റൂർതാലൂക്കിൽ പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിർബന്ധമാക്കേണ്ടതു അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമാണ്. ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിലും മറ്റും ഡെമോക്രാറ്റിക്ക് പാർട്ടി ജനങ്ങളെ പൌരബോധമുള്ളവരാക്കുവാനും വിദ്യാസമ്പന്നരാക്കുവാനും ശ്രമിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇവിടത്തെ ഡെമോക്രാറ്റിക്ക് പാർട്ടി അതിനു തീരെ വിരോധമായി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതു കാണുമ്പോൾ വ്യസനിക്കയല്ലാതെ ഗത്യന്തരമില്ല. കോളേജ് പ്രസംഗത്തിൽനിന്നും കിട്ടിയ ഡെമോക്രസിയും ശരിയായ ഡെമോക്രസിയും മനസ്സിലാവാത്തതിന്റെ ദോഷമാണ് സാധുജനങ്ങൾ മേലാൽ അനുഭവിക്കുവാൻ പോകുന്നതു്. ഇവിടത്തെ ഡെമോക്രാറ്റിക്ക പാർട്ടിയുടെ നിയമംതന്നെ പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്ക ദ്രോഹം ചെയ്യുയാണോ എന്നു സംശയിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇവിടത്തെ ഡെമോക്രാറ്റിക്ക പാർട്ടി പാശ്ചാത്യ രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു അവിടത്തെ ഡെമോക്രസി കൊണ്ടുവന്നു ഇവിടം പാശ്ചാത്തീകരിക്കാൻ ഉത്സാഹിക്കുന്ന ആളുകൾ ആണെങ്കിൽ പാശ്ചാത്യരുടെ നയത്തിൽനിന്നു വിട്ടുപോകുവാൻ ഒരിക്കലും ന്യായം കാണുന്നില്ല. അവിടത്തെ ഡെമോക്രസി നമുക്കും വേണമെന്നു വാലിക്കുമ്പോൾ അവിടത്തെ ഡെമോക്രസിയുടെ തത്വങ്ങൾ നാം ഇവിടെ സ്വീകരിക്കണം. നമുക്ക ഇന്നു ആവശ്യം എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ കൾച്ചർ ആണ്. വ്യ. ശ. മ. മാത്രം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യയിലെ ജനത അവിടെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം സ്ഥാപിക്കണം, അവരുടെ അഭിമാനത്തെ നിലനിർത്തിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകണം എന്നെല്ലാം ശക്തിയായി വാദിച്ചു അതിനുവേണ്ടി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നു. അതിനുള്ള കാരണം അവർ കൾച്ചേർഡായതുകൊണ്ടാണ്. ഇവിടെയുള്ളവർ ൪% എഴുതാനും വായിക്കാനും അറിയാവുന്നവരാണെങ്കിലും പൌരബോധം നമ്മൾക്കില്ല. ദാസ്യമനോഭാവത്തോട്ടം സ്വാർത്ഥത്തോട്ടംകൂടി നമോപായ ജപിച്ചു കാലം കഴിക്കുന്നു. അതിനുള്ള കാരണം നമ്മൾ കൾച്ചേഡല്ലാത്തതുതന്നെ. എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെന്റു നടത്തിവരുന്നതു ആദായത്തിനു വേണ്ടിയല്ലെന്നുള്ളതു സ്പഷ്ടമാണ്. എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻസെസ്സ് രൂപീകരിച്ച കാലത്തു അതിലെ ഡിസെൻറിങ്ങ് മിനിട്ടിൽ ഈ സംഗതി വിശദമായി കാണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ഫ്രീലക്ഷം രൂപയാണ് ഇവിടെ ചിലവാക്കുന്നതു്. അതിൽ നലക്ഷം രൂപയാണ് ഫീസായിട്ടു കിട്ടുന്നതു്. ബാക്കിയുള്ള പന്ത്രണ്ടുലക്ഷത്തിന്റെ $\frac{2}{3}$ ഭാഗം പണവും $\frac{1}{3}$ ഭാഗമായ സർക്കാർ സ്കൂളുകൾക്ക മാത്രമാണ് ചിലവായിട്ടുള്ളതു്. $\frac{2}{3}$ ഭാഗം എയിഡഡ് സ്കൂളുകൾക്കുവേണ്ടി $\frac{1}{3}$ ഭാഗം പണം മാത്രമെ ചിലവായിട്ടുള്ളൂ എന്നു കാണാം. ഇപ്പോൾ ഗവർമ്മെൻറുസ്കൂളുകൾ നടത്തിവരുന്നതിൽ വലിയ ചിലവു കാണുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു നിർബന്ധം വന്നാൽ കൂടുതൽ പണചിലവു വേണ്ടിവരുമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു ബുദ്ധിപൂർവ്വമായ

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ഒന്നല്ല. ചിറ്റൂർ ഗവൽസ് ഹൈസ്കൂളിൽനിന്ന കഴിഞ്ഞ കൊല്ലം സ്കൂ ൾ ഫൈനൽ ക്ലാസ്സിൽ പരീക്ഷക്ക പോയത മൂന്നോ നാലോ കുട്ടികൾ മാത്രമാണ്. ആ കുട്ടികൾ ആ പ്രദേശത്തിലെ കുബേരന്മാരു ടെ കുട്ടികളുമാണ്. അങ്ങിനെ ധനവാന്മാരായ ആളുകളുടെ കുട്ടികൾ ക്കുവേണ്ടി മാത്രം അവിടെ ഒരു ഹൈസ്കൂൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചു നടത്തിവരുന്ന ണ്ട്. എന്തുകൊണ്ട അതു ഒരു മിക്സ്ഡ് സ്കൂളായി മാററി നടത്തിക്കൂടാ? ഇങ്ങനെ പല സ്കൂളുകളും അമാൽഗമെറു ചെയ്തു നടത്തുകയാണെങ്കിൽ വളരെ പണം ലഭിക്കുവാൻ ഇടയുണ്ട്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിർബ്ബന്ധമാക്കുന്നതിന്ന പണമില്ലെങ്കിൽ പണം കടം വാങ്ങണമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നത്. അല്ലാതെ ടാക്സ് എന്ന പറഞ്ഞു ജനങ്ങളെ മിരട്ടാമെന്ന ഗവമ്മെൻറു വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു അനാശാസ്യകരവും ആഭാസകരവുമാകുന്ന. ഗവമ്മെൻറിന്ന ചിലവു ചുരുക്കുവാനായി എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടമെ ൻറു മാത്രമേയുള്ളോ? എന്തുകൊണ്ട ഈ അഞ്ഞൂററിക്കാരുടേയും എ ണ്ണൂററിക്കാരുടേയും ശമ്പളത്തിൽ നിന്നും ഒരു സാലറിക്കട്ട് ഏർപ്പെട്ട ത്തി ഒരു തുക എടുത്തുകൂടാ?. കൂടുതൽ പണത്തിനാവശ്യം വരുമ്പോ ൾ കടം വാങ്ങാറാണെല്ലൊ നമ്മുടെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൻെറ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ നയവും.

ഡെപ്യൂട്ടിപ്രസിഡണ്ട്.— ഗവമ്മെൻറു ഏതൊരു ടാക്സാണു ചുമത്തുക എന്ന പറയുന്നില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ (*Ezhuvas North*).— നികുതി ചുമത്തുകയില്ലെന്ന ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു പറഞ്ഞാൽമതി. കൂടുതൽ നികുതി ചു മത്താതെ, ഇതിന്ന കൂടുതൽ പണം വേണ്ടിവന്നാൽ അതിന്നവേണ്ട സംഖ്യ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ അമിതവ്യയത്തിൽനിന്നും ഉണ്ടാക്കാൻ കഴിയും. ഏതായാലും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ചിറ്റൂർ താലൂക്കിനോടും തലപ്പിള്ളി താലൂ ക്കിനോടും ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ കുറെ അനുഭാവത്തോടുകൂടി വീക്ഷിക്ക ണം. ചിറ്റൂർ താലൂക്കിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവരുടെ കണ ക്കു ഞാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞ നിയമസഭയിൽ കാണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്.

ഡെപ്യൂട്ടിപ്രസിഡണ്ട്.— ഒരു കാര്യത്തിലെ ഇവിടെ ചോദ്യമുള്ളൂ. ടാക്സു ചുമത്തുകയില്ലെന്ന ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്ന പറഞ്ഞാൽ ഇതിൽ എല്ലാവക്കും അനുകൂലമാണുള്ളതു്. അതിനെപ്പററിമാത്രമേ പറയേ ണ്ടതുള്ളൂ.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ (*Ezhuvas North*).— നിർ ർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസംകൊണ്ടു ഗുണംവരുവാനുള്ളതു് അധഃകൃതസമുദാ യങ്ങൾക്കും അവശസമുദായങ്ങൾക്കുമാണ്. അവരിൽ അധികം ഭാഗ ക്കാരും നികുതി കൊടുക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കാത്തവരാണ്. എന്നാൽ ആ പാവങ്ങൾക്കുകൂടി നികുതി ചുമത്താനാണ് ഡെമോക്രാററിക്ക് പാർട്ടി യിലെ ഒരു പ്രധാന മെമ്പറുടെ വാദം. ഇത്തരം ഡെമോക്രസി നശി

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പ്പിക്കയാണുവേണ്ടതു്. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു ഇതു നടപ്പാക്കുവാൻ പണമില്ലെങ്കിൽ വലിയ ശമ്പളമുള്ള ഗവമ്മെണ്ടുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ സാലറിയിൽ കട്ടചെയ്തിട്ടും ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിലേയും അമിതവ്യയത്തെ നിയന്ത്രിച്ചും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ധൂർത്തു തീരെ നിറുത്തിയും ഈ നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസബിൽ പാസ്സാക്കണം എന്നു ഞാൻ ശക്തിയായി ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ ഉൽബോധിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

***Dr. A.R. Menon** *(Pallippuram)*.—It is too late in the day, Sir, to bring into discussion as to the advisability of introducing compulsory Primary Education in the State. I do not think any one in this House will take exception to the proposition. It is the primary fundamental duty of every Government to give at least an elementary knowledge to all its children. I believe there is no dispute with regard to that. As such we must be in a position to vote for the Bill.

We know we can get funds only either by reducing expenditure or by imposing additional taxation. That retrenchment in expenditure of the various departments especially the Education Department could be effected I am not completely in a position to convince myself. I do not blame them for that. May be I am not able to grasp their points in support of their position. But a case has been made out by the Government that without additional funds either by additional taxation or by retrenchment compulsory primary education cannot be introduced in the State even in selected localities.

Regarding reduction of expenditure in the Education Department one point was explained that expenditure with regard to Sirkar schools is far greater than the expenditure for the aided schools. The difference may be in this way. Government makes a grant of 14 as. or so in the rupee and sometimes only less. I am sure this house knows that the poor school masters in the aided schools do not get more than what the Government gives to them as grant.

The second item is that Sirkar schools should be conducted more properly. It is true that expenditure in Sirkar schools is greater. But with regard to aided schools such things are not absolutely necessary. It is said that the expenditure incurred by Government under primary education in sirkar schools is very large. If you want to reduce the expenditure then Government too should conduct the primary schools like the aided primary schools. That is not possible.

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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It is the duty of the Government to give compulsory primary education and the first thing that they should do is to do away with all the primary schools under private management. There is nowhere where compulsory primary education is given that these schools are not managed by Government. My humble view is that the Government must take the sole responsibility of conducting all the primary schools.

The second argument placed before this house is that there are many schools especially girls schools where the number of students is small and so such schools may be closed down. I perfectly admit that the strength of the Chittur Girls High School is much lower than what it is in other places. It is suggested that if you have mixed schools there would be a reduction. My question is why is it mixed schools are not run. For primary and college mixed schools is a feature. But with regard to secondary schools it is not so. It is the opinion of eminent educationists that it is not safe to bring together boys and girls in their adolescence age. If the Government is going to accept the suggestion of running mixed schools the public may not be in their favour. The parents may not like to see their daughters mixing with boys. It is a matter of individual opinion. They may be right or wrong.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas South).*—In other parts of the State secondary education is conducted in mixed schools. Why that system should not be followed in Chittur is my question. There are many secondary schools here where boys and girls study together.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Pallippuram).*—There are many colleges which do not like to admit female students.

Mr. K. Ayyappan (*Ezhuvas South*).—I am speaking of Secondary Schools.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Pallippuram).*—What I was saying is that there cannot be any difference of opinion with regard to the admission of young men and young women in a college. Even in that case certain colleges refuse to admit young women. It is I know a matter of individual opinion, even though my inclination is in favour of mixed schools for boys and girls. But some people honestly think that it is not good to bring together boys and girls in the adolescense age. Granting Sir that you can abolish all the superfluous schools and thus reduce expenditure are you in a position to find sufficient funds for introducing compulsory primary education? My answer is No.

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The second point is retrenchment. There is only one way and that is by reducing the pay of the school masters. It is very easy in these days. You will certainly get men with the requisite qualification for a lessor pay even. Even though there is a surplus supply should you not pay them reasonable wages. I hope and I should think that the primary school masters must be paid more. So no reduction in expenditure is possible there also.

I do not want to carry this bill through under a false pretence, that by this retrenchment there will be ample funds to introduce compulsion in selected areas at least. There is no doubt in my mind that without an educational cess you cannot introduce cumpulsory primary education. The poor child will have to be supplied with food and sometimes clothing also.

Let us not fight this issue on the question of taxation or no taxation. Are you for primary education, and if you are it is your duty to press it to a division and pass it and ask Government to find necessary funds. If the House thinks that compulsory Primary Education is necessary, is absolutely necessary, then you should press it to a division. It is your duty to give every boy and girl in the State, no matter however poor or however rich he may be, this primary education. It is the paramount duty of every Government to give elementary education to all its subjects.

But I do not like the line of argument taken by some of my Hon'ble friends. One party says if additional taxation is found necessary then they are not for the measure. Some others say that funds could be found without additional taxation and as such compulsion should be introduced. I think that compulsory primary education is a necessity. If you too find it necessary and if you cannot find funds without additional taxation you must impose a tax on the people and give education to the children. But if you have not the moral courage you should not bring here such pieces of legislation. Government's position is the same. They are for it and they say that without some additional cess it is not possible to bring into force.

There is an amendment that it may be introduced in selected areas. Even for that Government say that some additional cess will be necessary. If the House has no objection to additional taxation Government will not stand against the bill. Your business is to explain to the House and to Government that additional taxation is not necessary for

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introducing compulsion in selected areas if you are not for additional cess. I would ask the Government to take that position and I would like the non-officials to stick to their position. If they are satisfied that primary education should be made compulsory they should pass it but they should not be afraid of an additional taxation.

What I wish to ask the Government is after the encouragement you have given us you must do your very best to introduce it without an additional cess and in case you find that impossible you should resort to additional taxation.

One word more about retrenchment. In spite of one's wide experience in various fields the moment you take up the work of retrenchment you find that it is impossible. I went there with the intention that I could make grand reductions. My Hon'ble friend was also there. We found that it was very difficult to make even small reductions. In such a state of affairs I am confident that we will not be able to save anything by retrenchment. So what I say is you should not bank upon the retrenchment committee. Having understood your responsibility and our limitations it is the duty of those who believe this compulsory primary education is a necessity, you should see it passed without being frightened of additional taxation. What I would say is that if anybody fears about taxation he is not convinced of the principle of primary education. There is no use of quarreling either additional taxation is necessary or not necessary because it is a problem which cannot be solved in this House. That line of argument would do us no benefit.

Free primary education involves expenditure. It is very ungenerous to make a deviation in your principle now like this. The rich man has become rich because of the work of the poor man. Therefore he should be made to pay for it. It is the duty of the rich man to give something for the introduction of compulsory primary education. I am in favour of compulsory primary education whether additional taxation is necessary or not necessary.

* മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ (*Ezhuvas South*).— സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട പള്ളിപ്പുറം മെമ്പർ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോട ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടമാതിരിത്തെ നില എടുക്കണമെന്നല്ല ഞാൻ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നത്. നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പാക്കണമെന്ന ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനുദ്ദേശമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ട സാധാരണ ചെയ്യാറുള്ളതുപോലെ ഇത് പാസാക്കുകയാ

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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ണ വേണ്ടത്. അല്ല വോട്ട കണ്ടിട്ടവേണം പാസാക്കുവാൻ എങ്കിൽ എല്ലാ കാര്യത്തിലും ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് ആ നയം എടുക്കണം. എനിക്ക ഒരു സംഗതിമാത്രമേ പറയുവാനുള്ളൂ. ഡെമോക്രാററിക്ക് പാർട്ടിയുടെ ലീഡർ ഈ ടാക്സ്സേഷനെപ്പററി ജനങ്ങളുടെയിടയിലുള്ള അന്ധവിശ്വാസത്തെ ഊന്നിപ്പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് വളരെ ഗംഭീരമായ ഒരു അന്ധവിശ്വാസം പരത്തിക്കഴിഞ്ഞു. ടാക്സ് എന്ന പറയുമ്പോൾ അന്ധവിശ്വാസമാണുണ്ടാകുന്നത്. ഈ ടാക്സ് എന്തിനുവേണ്ടിയാണ്, ഇതുകൊണ്ട് എന്താണ ചെയ്യുന്നത് എന്ന നോക്കണം. ടാക്സിൽനിന്നുള്ള പണം അനാവശ്യമായ കാര്യങ്ങൾക്ക ചിലവാക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതു സമ്മതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കാൻ പാടില്ല. നേരെമറിച്ച് ആ പണം ജനങ്ങൾക്ക ക്ഷേമത്തിനും ഗുണത്തോടുകൂടിയുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾക്ക വേണ്ടി ചിലവാക്കുമ്പോൾ അതിനെ എതിർക്കുന്ന എങ്കിൽ ആ എതിർപ്പ് ഒരു ജനപ്രതിനിധിയുടേതാണെന്ന ഒരിക്കലും വിചാരിക്കുവാൻ പാടില്ല. ഈ നിയമസഭതന്നെ പല പ്പോഴും ടാക്സ്സേഷന്റെ കാര്യം പറയുമ്പോൾ വളരെ പരിഭ്രമം കാണിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഡെമൊക്രാററിക്ക് പാർട്ടി ലീഡർ അവർകൾ പറഞ്ഞതു കേട്ടാൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് ഇതു സമ്മതിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞാൽ അതുപോലെതന്നെ പ്രവൃത്തിക്കും എന്നു തോന്നിപ്പോകും. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ അദ്ദേഹം ഈ നിയമത്തെ എതിർക്കുവാൻ, ജനങ്ങളുടെ കണ്ണിൽ മണ്ണിടുവാൻ, ഒരു സൂത്രം കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു എന്ന മാത്രമേയുള്ളൂ. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെപ്രവൃത്തി എന്താണെന്ന അറിയാൻ പാടില്ലാത്ത ഒരുത്തനല്ല അദ്ദേഹം. ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു പള്ളിപ്പുറം മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ഇതു് ഈ നിയമസഭ പാസാക്കണമെന്നാണ്. കഴിയുന്നതും ജനങ്ങൾക്ക ഉപദ്രവമില്ലാത്തവിധത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു നികുതി ചുമത്തി ഇതു നടപ്പാക്കണമെന്നാണ് എനിക്ക പറയുവാനുള്ളത്. ഇൻകം ടാക്സുകാർ ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഇതിനെ ഇപ്പോൾ എതിർക്കും. ഒരൊറ പൈപോലും ഈ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ഇൻകം ടാക്സു ചെയ്വാൻ പാടില്ലെന്ന അവർ പറയും. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായംനോക്കിയല്ല ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് ചെയ്യേണ്ടത്. ജനങ്ങൾക്ക ക്ഷേമത്തിൽ ഗുണമാണോ എന്ന നോക്കി അതിനുള്ള ഒരു നിലയാണ് ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് എടുക്കേണ്ടത്.

പിന്നെ ഡെമോക്രാററിക്ക് പാർട്ടി എന്തു പറഞ്ഞുകഴിഞ്ഞാലും ഈ ബില്ലിനെ എതിർത്തു പുറത്തുപോയാൽ, ഡെമോക്രാററിക്ക പാർട്ടി നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ ബില്ലിനെ എതിർത്തിരിക്കുന്ന എന്ന പറയും. എതിർത്തിട്ടില്ല എന്ന സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാനായിട്ട പത്രക്കാരേയും മറും ഭീഷണിപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ട യാതൊരു കാര്യവുമില്ല. ഇനി നിങ്ങൾ ഇതിനു എതിരുകാരല്ല എന്ന പറഞ്ഞാലും നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനുള്ള എതിരുകാർ എന്നുള്ള നിങ്ങളുടെ മുദ്ര പോകയില്ല. ടാക്സുകാര്യം പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ട് നിങ്ങൾ ഇതിനെ എതിർക്കയാണെങ്കിൽ വേറെ ഒരു ഭയ

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കരമായ മുളയുംക്രൂടി കിട്ടും. ഈ രണ്ടു മുദ്രയും വച്ചുകൊണ്ടു നിങ്ങൾ ഈ ബില്ലിനെ എതിർത്തുകൊള്ളുക. ഏതുകാര്യത്തിലും ടാക്സു കൊടുക്കേണ്ടിവരും. ടാക്സു കൊടുക്കുവാൻ പാടില്ലാത്തവരും ഈ ഭാഗത്തും ആ ഭാഗത്തുമുണ്ട്. പള്ളിപ്പുറം മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ടാക്സിന്റെ കാര്യമല്ല ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ എടുക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഈ ബിൽ നടപ്പാക്കുവാൻ എന്തെല്ലാം ചെയ്യണമോ അതിനു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ നിർബന്ധിക്കണം. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു ഇതിൽനിന്നു ഒഴിഞ്ഞുപോകുവാൻ ഒരിക്കലും തരം കൊടുക്കരുതു്.

ഈ ബില്ലിനെ എതിർക്കുവാൻ ഒരൊറ്റ ന്യായമേയുള്ളു. അതു പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിർബന്ധമാക്കേണ്ട എന്നുള്ളതാണു്. ഒരു നിസ്സാര ടാക്സു കൊടുക്കേണ്ട കാര്യം വച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഇതിനെ എതിർക്കുന്നതു മറ്റുപ്രകാരത്തിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കിട്ടുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമ്മാതിരിയായ ഒരു വലിയ ഭൂരിപക്ഷത്തിന്റെ ആവശ്യത്തെ, അവരുടെ താല്പര്യങ്ങളെ, എതിർക്കുകയാണു് ചെയ്യുന്നതെന്നു ആ സംഗതിയുടെ എല്ലാ വശങ്ങളും ഗാഢമായിട്ടു ആലോചിച്ചുനോക്കിയാൽ ഏവർക്കും മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. പിന്നെ നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ക്രടാതെതന്നെ ഈ ഉദ്ദേശം സിദ്ധിക്കാമെന്നു സാധാരണ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു പറയാറുള്ള ഒരു ന്യായം ഡെമോക്രാറ്റിക്കുപാർട്ടി പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഞാൻ അതു കേട്ടു അത്ഭുതപ്പെട്ടുന്നു. മറുവഴിക്കു സാധിക്കാമെന്നോ ഈ ഉദ്ദേശം!

മിസ്റ്റർ എം. ശിവരാമമേനോൻ (*Ernakulam South*).— ഞാൻ അങ്ങിനെ ഒരിക്കലും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ (*Ezhuvas South*).— ഇതു ഒരാൾ നല്ല വെളിച്ചത്തു എല്ലാവരുടേയും ഇടയിൽ ഇരുന്നു കണ്ണടച്ചു ഇരുട്ടാണെന്നു ഭാവിക്കുന്നതുപോലെയാണു് എന്നല്ലാതെ അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഞാൻ ഒന്നും പറയാൻ വഴികാണുന്നില്ല.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan (*Chalakkudi*).— We are glad.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ (*Ezhuvas South*).— ഞങ്ങൾ ഇന്നു ടാക്സു വേണമെന്നു പറയുന്നില്ല. ഏറ്റവും മുരടിച്ചിയ ഒരു സംഖ്യ ആക്കും ഭാരം തോന്നാത്തതായ ഒരു നികുതി ചുമത്തിയാൽ മതിയാകുന്നതാണു്. എന്തായാലും ഞാൻ ഈ ബില്ലിനെ അനുകൂലിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ പി. സി. വക്കി (*Ernakulam North*).— സർ, ഭൂനികുതി കുറയ്ക്കണമെന്നു ഐകകണ്ഠ്യേന നിലവിളിക്കുട്ടിയിട്ടുള്ള ഈ കൌൺസിലിൽ, പഞ്ചായത്തു നിയമംമൂലം വില്ലേജുകളിലെ ജനങ്ങളെ നികുതികൊണ്ടു കഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തരുതു് എന്നു ഈ കൌൺസിൽ ഹാളിലും ഹാളിനു പുറത്തു മറ്റു പല സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും നിലവിളി കേട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ, നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പിലാക്കാനായി ഒരു പുതിയ നികുതി ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ പ്രതി

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ക്രൂരികളാണെന്ന പറയുന്നതുകൊണ്ടുണ്ടാകാവുന്ന അപമാനങ്ങൾ സഹിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ തയ്യാറാണ്. നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്ന ഞങ്ങൾ വിരോധികളല്ലെന്ന കഴിഞ്ഞ കൌൺസിലുകളിലും ഇപ്പോഴും ഉച്ചൈസ്തരം പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. പണ്ടേതന്നെ സാമ്പത്തിക കഴപ്പം കൊണ്ടു വലയുന്ന ജനങ്ങളുടെമേൽ പിന്നെയും ഭാരമേറിയ നികുതി ചുമത്തുന്നതിനെ ശക്തിയായി പ്രതിക്രൂരിക്കുന്ന എന്ന പറയുന്നതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക യാതൊരു ലജ്ജയും തോന്നാൻ ന്യായമില്ല. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ ചുമതല ഞങ്ങൾ നിർവ്വഹിക്കുന്ന എന്നേയുള്ളൂ. ചില ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാർ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി, ഞങ്ങൾ പ്രാഥമിക നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നത്, ഞങ്ങളുടെ പാട്ടി ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനെ സഹായിക്കാൻ തൃപീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടാണെന്ന്.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ (*Ezhuvas South*).— ഞങ്ങൾ ഒരിക്കലും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ പി. സി. വക്കി (*Ernakulam North*).— ആ അർത്ഥം വരത്തക്ക ചില വാക്കുകൾ ഇവിടെ കേട്ട എന്ന തോന്നുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനോട പറയുന്നതു ഈ വഴക്കുകൾ ഒക്കെ ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതു ഗവൺമെണ്ടാണെന്നാണ്. ഗവൺമെണ്ടഭാഗത്തുനിന്ന എന്തുകൊണ്ടു കാര്യങ്ങൾ വ്യക്തമായി പറയുന്നില്ല. ഇന്ന നികുതി നടപ്പാക്കിയാലേ ഗവൺമെണ്ടു ഈ പദ്ധതി സ്വീകരിപ്പാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നുള്ളൂ എന്ന് വിശദമായി പറയട്ടെ. ഒന്നുകിൽ പോൾടാക്സു എർപ്പെടുത്തും, അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ലാൻറുടാക്സുനുസരിച്ചു ഉറപ്പിക്കുക ഇതുപൈ ചുമത്തും എന്ന എന്തുകൊണ്ടു പറയുന്നില്ല? സ്റ്റേറ്റു കാൺഗ്രസു പാട്ടി നികുതിഭാരം സ്വീകരിക്കാമെന്ന പറഞ്ഞാലും ഞങ്ങളുടെ കഴത്തിൽ കയറിടുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ തയ്യാറില്ല. ഞങ്ങൾ ഈ ബില്ലിനെ എതിർക്കുന്നതു പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെ രക്ഷയെമാത്രം ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചാണ്. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ പൊതുജനാഭിപ്രായം അറിയണമെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഒരു റഫറണ്ടം എടുക്കട്ടെ. അപ്പോൾ കാണാം ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായം എന്താണെന്ന്. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഇതു നികുതിയുടെ കാര്യം അറിയാതെ ബിൽ പാസാക്കരുതെന്ന അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

* മിസ്റ്റർ സി. ആർ. ഇയ്യുണ്ണി (*Trichur South*).— സർ, വളരെ അത്യുജ്വലമായ എറണാകുളം തെക്കെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലം പ്രതിനിധിയുടെ പ്രസംഗത്തിനുശേഷം എനിക്കു ഈ സംഗതിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു രണ്ടു വാക്കു പറയാതെ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതായിത്തീന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തിൽ ഉദ്ദേശം ഒരു കോടി രൂപായോളം ചിലവാക്കിയതിനുശേഷം നെൽചിലപാനം കോടി രൂപാ കടംവാങ്ങി ചിലവുചെയ്യുന്ന കാര്യത്തിൽ ഈ നിയമസഭാ മെമ്പർമാർക്കു സാരമായിട്ടുള്ള സങ്കോചമോ ഭീ

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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തിയോ ഉണ്ടാക്കാതെ വേണ്ടിവന്നാൽ ഒരു നിസ്സാരമായ നികുതി ചുമത്തുന്ന കാര്യത്തിൽ ഇത്രത്തോളമുള്ള ഒരു അവലാതിയോ സങ്കടമോ എവിടെനിന്നുണ്ടായി എന്നാണു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നതു്. പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിർബന്ധിത വിഷയമാക്കണമെന്നു് സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങളും അവരുടെ പ്രതിനിധികളായ മറ്റംഗങ്ങളും മുറവിളികൂട്ടുമ്പോൾ ചില നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലെ പ്രതിനിധികൾ ഇവിടെവന്നു അത്യാവശ്യമാണോ എന്നു ചോദിക്കുന്നതിൽ അവരുടെ മനസ്ഥിതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു എന്താണു പറയേണ്ടതെന്നു എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ല. അതായതു് കൊച്ചീ കണയന്നൂർ താലൂക്കിലാണു് പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവും മറ്റു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവും ഏറ്റവും ക്ഷുദ്രതലായി നിൽക്കുന്നതു്. ആ സ്ഥിതിക്കു അവിടെനിന്നുവരുന്ന പ്രതിനിധികൾക്കു പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിർബന്ധിതമാക്കണമെന്നുള്ള വിഷയത്തിൽ വലിയൊരു നിഷ്കർഷ തോന്നുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ അതിൽ ഒട്ടുംതന്നെ അത്ഭുതപ്പെടുവാനില്ല. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള സ്ഥലത്തുനിന്നു ഒരു റഫറണ്ടം എടുത്താൽ അതുകൊണ്ടു ഫലമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നു എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ചിറ്റൂർ താലൂക്കിൽ വളരെ നിസ്സാരമായിട്ടുള്ള തുക വരുന്ന ആളുകൾ മാത്രമേ അഭ്യസ്തവിദ്യരായിട്ടുള്ളൂ. അവിടെ നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അത്യാവശ്യമായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിലേക്കുവേണ്ടി കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തെ പ്രതിനിധികൾ അടങ്ങിയ ഈ നിയമസഭ വാദിക്കുമ്പോൾ അവരോടു പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു ഏവർക്കും അനുഭാവമുണ്ടാകേണ്ടതാണു്. എല്ലാ ജനങ്ങളുടേയും കയ്യിൽനിന്നു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു പിരിച്ചെടുക്കുന്ന നികുതി ഒരു സ്ഥലത്തുമാത്രം ക്ഷുദ്രതരായി ചിലവു ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ അതു കിട്ടാത്തവർക്കും അർഹതയുള്ളവർക്കുകൂടി അതിന്റെ ഓഹരി കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു പറയുന്നതു് അസൂയകൊണ്ടാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ അതു എത്ര അത്ഥമില്ലാത്ത വാക്കാണു്. പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെ പണമെടുത്തു ഒരു സ്ഥലത്തുമാത്രം ചിലവു ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ ഞങ്ങൾക്കും വീതം തരണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ അതിനു് അത്ഥമില്ല; അസൂയകൊണ്ടു പറയുന്നതാണത്രെ! അതിന്റെ അത്ഥം എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ല. ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു ജനസാമാന്യത്തിന്റെ ഗുണകരമായ സംഗതികളിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു മനസ്സുവച്ചു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുവാൻ തുടങ്ങുമ്പോൾ അതിൽ ഒരു അനുകൂല മനോഭാവത്തോടുകൂടിയാണു് ഇവിടെ വന്നുചേർന്നിട്ടുള്ള പ്രതിനിധികൾ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടേണ്ടതു്. അങ്ങനെയല്ലാതെ ഓരോ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളുടേയും സ്വകാര്യകാര്യങ്ങളെ അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കിക്കൊണ്ടു തങ്ങളുടെ മനസ്ഥിതിമാത്രമെടുത്തുകാണിക്കുന്നതു ഒരിക്കലും ശരിയല്ല. ഇവിടെ എത്രയോ ലക്ഷം കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു കോടിക്കണക്കിനു സംഖ്യ ചിലവു ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ ഒരുത്തക്കും ഇതിൽ യാതൊരു ചിന്തക്കും അവകാശമില്ല. എത്രയോലക്ഷം നാം കടം വാങ്ങുന്നു, അതിനു പലിശ കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതില്ലേ, അതിനു നികുതിക്കൂടാതെ കഴിയുമോ, എന്താവശ്യത്തിനു നാം കടം വാങ്ങുന്നു? എന്നെല്ലാമുള്ള സംഗതികളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഊർജസ്വലത കാണിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഇതിനു കുറച്ചുകൂടി ഭംഗിയുണ്ടായിരുന്നേനെ.

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അതുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു സാധുക്കളുടെ കാര്യത്തിൽ കുറച്ചുകൂടി അനുഭാവം കാണിക്കേണ്ട ചുമതല ഓരോ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ പ്രതിനിധിക്കുമുണ്ടു്. അവരുടെ കാര്യം തീർച്ചയായിട്ടും അനുകമ്പയോടുകൂടി വീക്ഷിക്കേണ്ടതായ ഒന്നാണു്. അതു നാം ചെയ്യുന്നില്ല. അവർക്കു പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ തീർച്ചയായിട്ടും നികുതി ചുമത്തിട്ടെങ്കിലും ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു അത്യാവശ്യമാണു്. അതു ഏതുവിധത്തിലുള്ള നികുതിയാണു ചുമത്തേണ്ടതു്, എല്ലാ ജനങ്ങളും ഒരേമാതിരിയാണോ എന്നുള്ള കാര്യത്തിൽ ഇവിടെ ഒരു വാദപ്രതിവാദം നടത്തേണ്ടതില്ല. അങ്ങനെ ഇവിടെ ഒരു വാദപ്രതിവാദം ഉണ്ടായാലും അതനുസരിച്ചു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കണമെന്നില്ല. നികുതി ആവശ്യമാണെന്നു വരുന്നപക്ഷം തീർച്ചയായിട്ടും നികുതി വേണം. ആ കാര്യത്തിൽ നാം ഒരു അടിയെങ്കിലും പിന്നോക്കം വച്ചിട്ടു കാര്യമില്ല. നികുതിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഭയപ്പെടേണ്ട ആവശ്യവുമില്ല. എന്നാൽ അതു ആ ആവശ്യത്തിനു വിനിയോഗിക്കുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ അതിനെക്കുറിച്ചു ഭയപ്പെടേണ്ടതുണ്ടു്. അതിനിടയാകാതിരിക്കാൻ പ്രത്യേകം സൂക്ഷിക്കണം. അപ്രകാരം സൂക്ഷിച്ചാൽ ഒട്ടുംതന്നെ ഭയപ്പെടേണ്ടതില്ല. വലിയ സംഗതികൾ വരുമ്പോൾ യാതൊരു സങ്കോചവും ക്രൂരതെ വെറുതെ കണ്ണടച്ചു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു പറയുന്നതു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുവാൻ തയ്യാറാകുന്നു. മറ്റുള്ള നിസ്സാരമായ കാര്യങ്ങൾ വരുമ്പോഴാണു് കടിപിടി. ഇത്രത്തോളമേ എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളൂ.

* **Rao Sahib I. N. Menon** *(Director of Public Instruction).*—Mr. President, Sir, Government do not wish to repeat what they have said on the last occasion on the very same subject. It would be wise for people to make up their minds. What precisely the position is it is left entirely to the non-official public to decide. What I wish to say is with regard to facts and figures which were held out to argue in favour of one position or the other. The Hon'ble Member for Wadakancherry pointed out that relative to other States the expenditure on education in Cochin is not very high. I must most categorically controvert that statement. We are spending to-day 12 annas per head of population. In Madras, if I remember right, it is under 8 annas. The figures are not conclusive.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Pallippuram).*—How is it in Travancore?

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction).*—In Travancore it is somewhere nearer Cochin. It is not more. But my contention, Sir, is that these facts and figures,

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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however useful they might be in comparing are not very significant, with regard to the issue now before this House. I find that there is a suspicion, curiously enough on both sides of the House, that Government are anxious to espouse one cause or the other. Sir, I should like to make it perfectly clear to the Hon'ble Members of this House that we do not want to sit on the fence but that Government are prepared to abide by the decision of the House whatever that may be. That is the position of the Government.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Pallippuram).*—Are you going to accept the proposition that primary education must be introduced without additional taxation if it is voted by the House?

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction)*—Hon'ble Members wanted to know from the Government whether they are prepared to make a forecast as to the expenditure which is in the nature of things impossible. Is it possible, I ask, to forecaste an increase in population for the next ten years. We are very nearly tired by the growth of the population. It is not possible to forecaste the precise expenditure that might have to be incurred to implement this Bill when it comes into an Act. But it appears to me from the calculation which it was possible for me to make that whatever measure of retrenchment we might succeed in making it will not be possible to find sufficient savings to undertake compulsory education on a large scale without additional taxation. I think I have made that position clear. I do not say that any body should be frightened by the bogey of additional taxation. I do not want to embarrass the retrenchment Committee by anticipating my own proposals, but think that as far as my Department is concerned we are spending 17 lakhs on permanent recurring charges. It may be 18 unless you are going to stop increments in salaries. I do not concede of any possibility of large scale retrenchment in the matter of education.

I am not arguing this with a view to get this Bill turned one way or the other. It is a statement of a mere fact. But at the same time Government ought to be particularly careful in making statements. It is true that in certain parts of Cochin literacy is not very high relative to their parts. But relatively to the rest of India even the most backward part of Cochin is more literate Granting that universal primary education is very desirable the question is whether the end justifies the means. It is for the Hon'ble Members to decide

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whether having accepted the end, they are prepared to finance it and find the means.

(At this stage, the Hon'ble the President occupied the Chiar.)

With regard to the policy, which the Government adopt in respect of this Bill I have already stated my position. Hon'ble Members should not, in the event of this Bill coming on the Statute Book, turn round and say Government have not been loyal to the provision you have placed on the Statute book, you have not introduced compulsion because it may not be possible unless funds are forthcoming to implement the decision that has been arrived at. So the passage of this Bill should not be considered as sufficient without voting additional supply for implementing the practical provisions of this Bill.

I would like to make one or two observations by way of corrections. Certain portions were read out of the report submitted by one of the officers of the Department. It is not an official report. I do not say that the facts are wrong. It was not submitted in his official capacity. He was one of the witnesses examined by the Select Committee and in his personal capacity he has utilised his wide experience as a servant of the Government and placed the knowledge he possessed at the disposal of the committee.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas South).*—Are the figures correct?

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction.*— They are certainly correct. It was the evidence submitted by the particular gentleman. Another suggestion which was put forward by one Hon'ble Member as palliative of the rigour of taxation is that the Government need not introduce complusion in full if funds are not forthcoming. It is not possible to graduate compulsory education to the funds available. Once Government have decided to introduce compulsion Government have to find money.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*—Why not select particular areas for trying compulsion?

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction).*— It is not possible. In any case we have to declare an area as an area of compulsion and we cannot say that unless money is forthcoming we cannot introduce compulsion in another area.

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The leader of the democratic party wanted me to say on behalf of the Government what precisely was the amount required or what precisely was the nature of taxation proposed to be introduced. The provisions of the Bill do not contemplate any definite statement with regard to that. I must honestly confess that it is an issue which must for the present remain open. It depends upon the amount of money that is actually required. Whether it is going to be a tax on luxuries or on necessities whether it is going to be a direct or indrict tax, they are all matters which have got to be decided later on.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Pallippuram)*—Can you introduce this measure to any appreciable extent without resorting to additional taxation? That is a clear question. Are the Government in a position to give us an answer?

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction.)*—The Hon'ble Member wants to know whether this can be implemented without additional taxation. If the Hon'ble Member takes an area which is already well served for example Cochin. Kanayannur Taluk as an area for this purpose it may be possible.

Mr. President.—But he has specified that it must be to an appreciable extent and not merely for the purpose of saying that compulsion has been introduced.

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction).*—Certainly it is not possible. As a matter of fact, this was the assumption when the Government said that they are going to remain neutral with reference to this Bill. I don't think it is necessary for me to say anything more on this on behalf of the Government.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur Rural).*—Sir, it is a well-known fact that my constituency is most backward in the matter of education. This is because the rural parts there are not like the villages here. There will be groups of 20 or 30 houses separated from each other by about half a mile and two miles. The two places which the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill told us are Arandapallam and Meenakshipuram. When he went to Meenakshipuram he said that he saw a large concourse of people collected together for some festival.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*—I was referring to a conference that took place in Kozhinjanpara but if I had said Meenakshipuram, it is a mistake and it was not for a festival.

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Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur Rural)*.—When I heard what the Hon'ble Member said, I was reminded of Miss Mayo.

In Arandappalam there are only three or four monied people and they send their children and relations to the school. Those who do not go there belong to very very poor classes and their houses are far away from the school. If you want boys of 6 or seven years to go to school they have to be assisted by other people because they have to go through varambas. They will have to cross canals, ditches &c. It will be next to impossible to go secure without help. You insist on sending their children to school. Such being the case, unless you promise at least one full meal a day, I don't think that Government can compel them.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri.)*—There is provision in the Bill.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur Rural)*.—If Government wants to introduce compulsion, they must be in a position to spend money. But that money, the Government should not think of raising by taxation especially by tax on property. It has been said here that I will have to go out of my constituency without supporting this proposition. There will be a challenge against me if I go to my constituency. He says that he had been to Chittur and that those people wanted education at any cost. I do not think that the people in my constituency wish to have compulsory education by taxation. They are quite willing to have it provided they are given gratis. If you introduce compulsion in Vannamadai there will be one difficulty. The school is situated in a distant place and the small children have to walk a long distance. They are all Malayas. It is their number that swells the number of the illiterate. My only request to the Government is that if they want to introduce compulsion they should be prepared to give them at least one full meal a day.

Mr. President.—It is not a compulsory feeding bill; it is only a compulsory education bill.

There is one aspect to which reference was made by Dr. Menon. The Honourable Member asked what would be the approximate cost. It will be very difficult to forecast for this reason. You have to introduce a provision with regard to feeding also. The operation of the feeding provisions cannot be

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restricted to the number of children who are brought to the school but it should be given to all those who are attending schools even now.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Pallippuram).*—I did not ask for the figure. My contention is that taxation is absolutely necessary if you resort to this measure. There is one section which says that they are not going to support if taxation is introduced. I am of opinion that taxation is necessary. I ask the opinion of the Government whether they can resort to this measure without taxation and depending upon retrenchments alone.

Mr. President.—The position the Government have taken is that it is impossible to get any appreciable amount of money by retrenchment and that compulsion cannot be introduced without additional taxation. What the Honourable Members must realise is this that introducing compulsion even in one area does not mean that the expenditure involved is not merely the opening of a few more classes and a few more teachers but the undertaking of feeding of not merely the children who are brought much to the school but all the children now undergoing instruction.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas South).*—Feeding is necessary only in deserving cases recommended by the Committee.

Mr. K M. Kunhi Moideen *(Kattur).*—The Democratic Party wants to know the nature of the tax which the Government want to levy.

Mr. President.—How is it possible to give that? It will be quite rash to say now what the nature of taxation will be.

I think we had sufficient discussion on this. There is an amendment which ought to be moved before the Bill is put to the vote. The Director of Public Instruction will move the amendment.

* **Rao Sahib I. N. Menon** *(Director of Public Instruction).*—Sir, I beg to move that clause 6 be amended by deleting "and once a child has been compelled to attend school under this Regulation, it shall be compelled to complete the full course of primary education regardless of age". The necessity for deleting this portion was made amply clear from the Chair last time. There are certain alternatives. The first is to allow it to go as it is. That introduces an incongruity. Again to make it as such is only to enable the child who enters the school at 8 or 9

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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to continue indefinitely. That is an impossibility even from a fiscal point of view. You cannot make any one to go up the educational ladder by any sort of compulsion. If that were possible examinations may be dispensed with altogether. Now the last alternative is the one which I have suggested that the latter portion of the last sentence be deleted. I am aware that this might introduce an anomaly to the measure for some time to come. In other words, until compulsion takes full effect, there will be a limbo as it were in the educational field. There will be children who under the compulsory statute will be attending school only for one year, entering the school at 10 and leaving it at 11. This is a difficulty which cannot be avoided in measures of this kind. As a matter of fact what about the large number of the old who are without any type of education and who must in spite of considerable reduction remain as a sort of a dark fringe even in a compelled area because there will be exemptions? All that is possible will be to resort to agencies like adult education by means of libraries, evening classes and so on. These are transitory measures rendered necessary by transitory anomalies. But for the present in order to make the bill as it stands a uniformly congruous whole, it is necessary to remove this anomaly and delete the latter portion of the last sentence of clause 6.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran (*Government Advocate and Law Officer*).—I second it.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan (*Wadakkancheri*).—I accept the amendment.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan (*Chalakkudi*).—I do not oppose the amendment. After it is deleted there will be a semi colon after the word 'school'. If the amendment is accepted the clause will end there.

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon (*Director of Public Instruction*).—There should be a full stop.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan (*Chalakkudi*).—Exactly. That was what I wanted to speak.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan (*Wadakkancheri*).—Mr. President, Sir, the only opposition from the non-official side to this bill was on the ground of taxation, the Democratic Party being not in a position to know what exactly the nature of taxation that the country will be subjected to if taxation is found necessary to introduce compulsion. That was

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a pointed question that was asked by the Honourable Leader of that party. Today as also on the previous occassion, the same question was repeated by the party leader and the deputy leader. From the leader came the question whether it is a poll tax that the Government propose to levy. The deputy leader asked whether it would be one or two annas in the rupee of the land tax thereby suggesting that it was the exact nature of the tax that they wanted to know. The exact nature of the tax that may ultimately be levied by the Government, they wanted to know. In the course of the discussion the Honourable the Leader of the party was prepared to say that if some definite indication of the line of taxation is known, their attitude in all probability will be changed. In view of such a definite question put to the Government by a responsible member, I hope that the Government would be helping the passage of this bill and thereby advancing the cause of literacy in the State by telling the party what exactly is the line of taxation that the Government is going to adopt if one is found to be absolutely necessary. It could well be stated, as the Diwan President was pleased to say on the former occasion, what exactly is the position of Government with regard to this bill if it is passed into law.

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction).*— I have already stated what the position of the Government is. There is absolutely no change of front or change of ground.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*— I never stated, Sir, that the Government has changed its attitude. The Government's position was definitely stated last time to be one of necessity for taxation if funds are not available by retrenchment in the department itself. That has been repeatedly said by Government in definite terms. Certainly, they stick to it even now. What the Democratic Party wants to know before it decides upon the course of action as far as this bill is concerned is the exact nature of the tax that you are going to impose. They want to know whether it is going to be a poll tax, or whether it is a raising of the income-tax or whether it is a raising of the excise duty or any increase in the land tax. I hope the Government will be pleased to tell them what really will be their attitude and what exactly is their position. If that is told they in a way promise to support this bill. Government has now stated, as on a previous occasion, that the matter of the passage of this Bill is left entirely to the non-officials, Government remaining neutral as they did before. I believe I have appraised the Government position correctly. If the Government is going to remain neutral this time also I request that

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the Government will be pleased to the question but by the Democratic party so that it may not be subsequently said that the non-officials were divided among themselves and spoiled the bill which the Governmet was pleased to accept. Let not the burden be shifted to the non-officials; let not a clevage be effected between non-officials. There is one party—the congress party—for the introduction of compulsion even at the cost of taxation. The other party says that if taxation is to be introduced, they do not want compulsion however good it may be. That is the position in which the non-officials find themselves. I request the Government to come to their rescue by giving an answer to such a pointed question. I am sorry that the Diwan-President was not here when the Leader as well as the Deputy Leader of the party had been making their pointed suggestion. I therefore repeat the question and request that the Diwan President may be pleased to state what exactly is the position of Government. Now the position is this. A pointed question put by a responsible party of the House—a numerically stronger party than ourselves—remains unanswered. The fate of the bill if it is to be voted upon without the statement being made by the Government to the pointed question of theirs I know will be one of defeat at this last stage. The defeat I am not in any way unprepared to take. I know that my cause is good; I know that I am advocating the cause which was being advocated in different places and worked successfully in the various parts of the world and the question of taxation never played any part there.

Whatever be the fate of the bill, I will briefly reply to the various points raised in the discussion. I am thankful to the Honourable Leader of the Democratic Party for an observation that he made that this bill could be worked successfully only if Cochin is granted responsible Government. For that statement made by that Honourable Member I am thankful to him. In his speech a reference was made to a charge that my party is alleged to have made outside this House.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Ernakulam South).*—That statement was subsequently modified.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*—But I want to make a reference to it. I distinctly remember that it was based of course on the paper reports. It was reported that the Democratic Party opposed the Cochin Free Compulsory Primary Education bill on the ground of taxation

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following the passing of the bill. I remember distinctly to have stated in Mattancherri, facing the harbour that even if we had to spend the whole income from the harbour we want that primary education should be made free and compulsory. Most unequivocally I have made that statement and I take the full responsibility for such a statement and the accusation without the qualifying clause has been refuted by me and I assure the Democratic Party that no Member of the Congress Party has made any reference to their attitude to the measure without at the same time saying that the party opposed the measure on the ground of taxation.

As the question of taxation is seen to be intensely connected with the attitude of the Democratic party in the passage of this Bill I only invite their kind attention to the Meenam meeting proceedings of this Council last year. It was pointed out by me last time. It was a statement made by me in reply to a pointed question put by the Diwan-President whether the House if for additional taxation if one is found necessary to work the Compulsory Primary Education Bill. After waiting to get the replies of my non-official friends I stated that even if taxation was found necessary we want Compulsory Primary Education. That statement was not demurred by any one member of this House. Not a single member of the Democratic Party raised his voice against that statement.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi).*—We never agree to that.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*—The printed proceedings of the Council will show that my statement was unrebutted. The Democratic Party as such did not exist then. That the Democratic Party did not object may probably be wrong. But Honourable Members of the House who now form the Democratic Party did not raise a single voice. It is curious to see that the bill when it was introduced has become a controversial one. Not a single Member of the House who now forms the Democratic Party said a single word either in support or against the bill. It was only when the bill was under consideration, the Leader and the Deputy Leader, the Treasurer, and the Secretary got up and opposed this bill on the ground of taxation. Therefore what I submit is this. If the printed proceedings of this Council can be relied upon there can be found a statement to the effect that even at the cost of taxation compulsory primary education was necessary standing unrebutted by any single Member of the House and

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therefore it must be said that there is the fullest consent of the House—the unanimous consent of the House.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Ernakulam South).*—Silence cannot be considered consent in the matter of legislation.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*—In reply to the pointed question made by no less a responsible person than the Diwan-President and when that statement stands unrebutted, the fullest consent of the House is there for taxation, if found necessary. With this position, I ask the Government of Cochin how dare they to remain neutral when the voting on this vital question is coming up. How dare they to remain neutral? They have a moral duty to support the promoters of the bill and cast their vote with the members who support the bill and not remain neutral as they did on former occasions. If only the Diwan President would be pleased to tell the leader of that party what exactly is the line of taxation that they are going to impose if one is necessary the unanimous non-official vote of the House will be there for passing the bill. Now a question has been put by a very responsible member, a member responsible to a very large community of Muslims what the select committee report stated. I may tell the house that the percentage of literacy in the community represented by him is simply 17. 8.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. കെ. കുട്ടി *(Muslims).*—സിലക്ട് കമ്മിറ്റി ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*—I am only stating the responsibility which the Honourable Member has to the persons whom he represents.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. കെ. കുട്ടി *(Muslims).*— കൌൺസിലിനെ തെറ്റിദ്ധരിപ്പിക്കുവാനാണ് ഈ പ്രസംഗം കാരണമാകുന്നതെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നു. ടാക്സിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു സിലക്ട് കമ്മിറ്റി അന്വേഷണം നടത്തിയപ്പോൾ ആരോടെങ്കിലും ചോദിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടോ? ഒരു വലിയ ബോമ്പാണ് നിങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടിരിക്കുന്നതെന്നാണ് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. അന്വേഷണം നടത്തിയപ്പോഴും ടാക്സു ചുമത്തുന്നതിനെപ്പറ്റി എന്റെ സമുദായത്തെ നിങ്ങൾ അറിയിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. നിങ്ങൾ സിലക്ട് കമ്മിറ്റിയിൽവച്ചു ടാക്സോടുകൂടി കമ്പൽസറി എഡ്യുക്കേഷൻ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുന്നതിനു വിരോധമുണ്ടോ എന്നു ചിന്തിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഞാൻ എതുകുന്നതു്.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Wadakkancheri).*—A question has been put to me what the select committee report

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has stated. If the Hon'ble Member had no time to read the select committee report which was sent two months back, it is none of my business to answer it.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon (*Ernakulam South*).—If there was a unanimous consent there was no necessity for a further enquiry.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan (*Wadakkancheri.*)—The Select Committee, to which no pointed reference of taxation was made, has made this observation. "Not only was the introduction of a new cess or the enhancement of the existing tax unjustifiable and inexpedient, but was unnecessary as it must be possible to effect economies in other directions to find the funds necessary for the administration of this Regulation. There is also a further point to be considered. Universal Primary education has been admitted by Government to be the goal towards which they are working without compulsion. The experience of the last few years has proved that the enrolment of our Primary schools is rapidly increasing; and even in the absence of compulsion Government have a duty to provide for the education of the children who are seeking admission into our primary schools without any sort of statutory compulsion. Additional expenditure, therefore, on primary education seems inevitable even if this Bill is not passed into law. Should additional taxation be found indispensable to meet the annually increasing demands, the question of additional taxation to meet this drain may be considered independently of this Bill."

These are the observations regarding the taxation question contained in the select committee report signed by responsible members of the Government.

Reference, sir, has been made in the course of the discussion regarding the various methods of retrenchment that I suggested could be effected in the department of Education. There seems to be a confusion about the general retrenchment committee appointed by Government recently to go into the whole question of retrenchment to be effected in all departments of the Government. I find in the printed proceedings a statement by the Diwan-President that soon after if this bill is passed into law he is prepared to appoint a committee to go into the question of the possibilities of effecting retrenchments in the Education Department and if that committee is not able to find sufficient funds by way of retrenchments it will be time enough to impose taxation for which the sanction of the House may be necessary.

Dr. A. R. Mneon (*Pallippuram*).—On a point of order. It is only fair to say that some of the members said that not only in the Department of Education but also in other departments there would be a reduction.

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Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan (*Wadakkancheri*).—I fully appreciate the point raised by the Hon'ble Member for Pallipuram. That a committee for retrenching expenditure in the Education department alone will not suffice was made clear by some Members of this House. They said that over and above the economies that could be effected in the department of Education there are possibilities of effecting retrenchments in other departments also. It was after this that the statement was made that even for the department of Education itself a committee of retrenchment will be appointed and after its report if it was found that sufficient funds cannot be had, then the question of taxation will be considered. It was also stated that the monies that could be had out of such retrenchments will be used solely for advancing primary education thereby suggesting that it is a committee particularly for the Education Department and not the general committee.

One line of reterenchment which was suggested by me is seem to have been misunderstood by one Hon'ble Member who took an active part in the debate. I pointed out that many of the girls high schools which had not sufficient strength could be abolished and the girls asked to go to the boys school that run side by side. The specific instance of the Chittur Girls' High school which has less than 25 pupils in three classes was pointed out by me. Many such girls schools could be suppressed. My position, is that these girls schools which are not sufficiently strong to be run as independent girls schools could be suppressed and economies may be effected. I have also suggested that many of the secondary schools in localities where there are two or more schools side by side could be abolished with advantage. Persons who have gone to towns can very well understand that the suppression of two or three schools will not do any harm to the pupils of such areas who seek admission for secondary education. One instance can be pointed out by me. At a distance of 3 miles from Trichur there is a Sirkar high school at Ollur. With all sorts of convenience of bus traffic it will not be very difficult for people to come from Ollur to Trichur. Further, at a distance of 1½ miles from Ollur there is another well conducted High School, under private management, namely the C. N. N. High school, Cherppu I do not find the necessity for maintaining at a prohibitively high cost a Sirkar high school. And if we make a thorough enquiry it can be found that there are various other high schools which could be suppressed with great advantage. In various places there are also private agencies who are willing to take up the

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management of Sirkar schools. That is another method of effecting savings pointed out by me. If you are determined to shut your eyes at these practical suggestions I cannot help it.

As was pointed out by the Hon'ble Member for Pallippuram, tax or no tax, you have to face this question. Even if it is with tax you have to face this question. My submission is that a large amount of money could be saved by retrenchment and it is only as the last resort that you have to go to taxation. Then coming to the one particular area where I want compulsion to be introduced namely Chittur Taluk, my Hon'ble friend representing Chittur said that he would be glad to have compulsion there and thereby add to the percentage of literacy in his place, if only a meal is assured.

The meal is assured. The meal Government have to give; the funds the Government have to find and the methods for finding the amount I have pointed out.

Dr. A. R. Menon (*Pallippuram*).—On a point of information. Would the Hon'ble Member be in a position to show that by the reduction of high schools there will be sufficient savings to meet the requirements of compulsory primary education?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan (*Wadakkancheri*) —Sir, I pointed out in my opening speech on the third reading of this Bill that expenditure could be curtailed in the Collegiate Department by not appointing hereafter, at any rate, unnecessary professors. That is one item. The second is the abolishing of many a Sirkar High School.

Mr. President.—There is no point in making a statement like that. So far as the college is concerned we are under an obligation to the Madras University to maintain a fixed number of professors. There is not one more now in excess in the college.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan (*Wadakkancheri*).—Certain questions wereonly answered yesterday whichshow thatthere are an unnecessarily large number of hands in the College. If time is given to me for making pointed reference by comparison to the number of professors in the St. Thomas College, the hours of work of the professors, etc., I can show that there is an excess of hands maintained in our College. If the Government think that there are no excess hands by all means keep them. For purposes of this argument it may be ignored that there is no possibility of retrenchment in the college. The High School

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department is sure to give us a large sum. If any Hon'ble Member asks me what will be the exact savings I am not in a position to say that off hand. But a large amount of money can be saved by suppressing many a Sirkar School and in certain other cases by handing over the management to private agencies. This applies also to primary education. From the administration report of the Education Department it will be seen that we have got a very large number of private owned schools. Whatever may be the adverse remarks about the management of the private schools I must submit that the percentage of literacy which you have now got is largely due to the exertions of these private bodies. The number of Sirkar Schools is only about a third of the number of private schools owned by missionaries and other agencies in the field of primary education. If you will hand over these schools to private agencies you can save a sum of rupees 1500 on each school. A Sirkar Primary School costs to the Government 2008 rupees while in the case of an aided primary school it comes only to Rs. 750. Mark the difference. I was advocating the cause of private owned schools being taken over by the Government but when the Government explained their position that an enormous expenditure will be necessary for the taking over of the whole primary education into their hands I knew and a large section of the House knew that the question of private owned primary schools being completely taken over by the Sirkar is an impossibility. So what I say is we can effect savings in that way also. These are the various items of economies that could be effected in the secondary and primary departments.

Now as I pointed out in the first instance there is no obligation on the part of the Government to introduce compulsion throughout the State at once. With the available funds at your disposal you can start compulsion in selected areas and after going a certain distance if you find that it is not possible to extend the experiment to other areas with the funds available by retrenchment then stop there. Some Hon'ble Members seem to think that the Government have got the responsibility to carry it out throughout the whole State. No. For example C. K. Taluq may not require it. The percentage of literacy here according to the Government figures is somewhere in the vicinity of 90. Trichur comes next with about 68 per cent. It is only certain portions of the Taluqs of Chittur and Talappilli that immediately stand in need of compulsion being introduced. It is for that I plead. For that funds will be available from the retrenchment effected in the Education Department itself. That being the position I will only make

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an appeal to the Members of the Democratic party once again believing in their good sense to vote for this. I am not going to say anything as was attempted to be said here by some Hon'ble Members that they will be stamped with the hall mark of fighting against Compulsory Education if they vote against this measure. You must have the boldness. Come what may. We know what the position will be. That boldness I expect at the hands of the Democratic party headed by no less a leader than the Hon'ble Member for Ernakulam. I am sure the Government is also morally bound to support the passage of this Bill and put it on the Statute Book. It is most surprising that the Government have asked for the consent of this House to tax the people upon such a useful measure. There were various occasions when you have not asked for our consent. With these things before you I doubt whether the Democratic party will simply for the sake of consistency vote against this measure as they did last time. That is the last appeal I make to the party. Finally I appeal to the Government and especially to the Diwan President just to give them an answer to the question which they have put to the Government.

Rao Sahib I. N. Menon *(Director of Public Instruction).*—On a point of correction, Sir, I would request the attention of the Hon'ble Member to the answers I furnished to questions Nos. 255 and 256 on the first day of this session where the relative figures of the St. Thomas College and the Maharaja's College are given. It wil be obvious from that that there is no question of under working or overstaffed.

Mr. President.—Since a reference has been made to a pointed question addressed to the Government and an appeal has been made to me to give a definite reply, I wish just to say one or two words. I have understood by a repetition of this question that the point of that pointed question is whether Government will be prepared to say now and here what will be the method of taxation that will be resorted to in case this Bill becomes law and the exact amount that will be necessary for that purpose. I am perfectly certain that any one of the Hon'ble Members who expects Government to give an answer to this pointed question now and here going back this evening and reflecting on what has happened here will realise that no Government Member, not even the most superhuman, can take upon himself the responsibility for answering that question off hand. Measures of taxation are not taken so light heartedly. As a matter of fact it is a very difficult task that is imposed

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on a Government Member. Now if this Bill becomes law and if I am to put it into operation the working of the Government mind will be something like this. Obviously I cannot and the House itself cannot expect that the provisions of this Bill should be extended by one stroke of the pen to the whole State. It is admitted on all hands that certain localities or selected areas for various reasons selected, must first be chosen as compulsory areas. At the same time Government will have to make up their minds on one point. If a policy of compulsion is launched upon in a particular area, the logical consequence of that would be to extend that policy in a reasonable time to the whole State. We cannot simply introduce compulsion in an area and go to sleep and afterwards say that we have not sufficient funds to introduce it to any other areas and then wake up after 20 years. At the very outset before a responsible administrator makes up his mind to put the provisions of the Bill into operation even in a restricted area, he must be clear in his mind that within a reasonable time the provisions of the Bill should be made applicable to the whole State. Looking from that point of view we come to the next point i. e. if a special tax is to be levied for compulsory education it must be so devised that the tax is of an elastic nature. Because in the first few years when only a few areas are selected you require only limited funds. Later on you require more funds, so that the source of taxation which you intend to earmark for purposes of compulsory primary education is capable of elasticity when later on compulsion also expands. Therefore Government will have to devise some such method of taxation as to have that elasticity. It is not possible for any member, even for the most experienced administrator to say what exactly is the source of taxation that will be available in the State for the purpose. Apart from the elasticity of the source of taxation Government have also to assess what will be the proceeds of the taxation and that can be arrived at only after an administrative enquiry. Further we will have to consider what will be the incidence of that taxation, whether it will affect the rich or the poor. Now all these matters will have to be taken into consideration and with the limited knowledge that I have got over these matters, if I apply my mind to this matter, I am sure it will take me a few months.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon. *(Ernakulam South).*—Will not that be a better reason for us to oppose the Bill? How much more difficult will be our position without knowing the exact details and data to say one way or the other. That is the very same reason that we opposed the Bill.

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Mr. K. Ayyappan (*Ezhuvas South*)—Will not the tax be as light as possible?

Mr. President.—I cannot say anything on that point now.

I am glad that the Hon'ble Member Mr. Sivarama Menon intervened. Though I was not present here during Mr. Sivarama Menon's speech, after the repetition of the speech I take it that if Mr. Sivarama Menon made that demand it is not with a view to get an answer but only to point out the inherent difficulties.

Motion that the 3rd reading of the Cochin Free Compulsory Primary Education Bill be passed was put and negatived.

Mr. T. K. Nayar (*Pazhayannur*).—A Poll, Sir.

Poll.

Ayes.	Noes.
1. Dr. A. R. Menon.	1. Mr. M. Sivarama Menon.
2. Mr. T. K. Nayar.	2. Mr. P. C. Varkey.
3. Mr. K. Ayyappan.	3. Mr. P. Raman Menon.
4. Mr. K. S. Panickar.	4. Mr. P. Sankunni Menon.
5. Mr. V. K. Krishnankutty.	5. Mr. George Parakkal.
6. Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.	6. Mr. V. K. Kutty.
7. Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.	7. Mr. A. V. Moothedan.
8. Mr. K. M. Kunhi Moideen.	8. Mr. K. S Manickam.
9. Mr. P. Govinda Menon.	9. Mr. A. Eachara Menon.
10. Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.	10. Mr. A. Narayana Menon.
11. Mr. K. Ashtamoorthi Nambudiripad.	11. Mr. P. J. Alexander.
12. Mr. C. R. Iyyunni.	12. Mr. M. V. Cherian.
	13. Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan.
	14. Mr. A. Sankara Menon.
	15. Mr. K. Kunhirama Menon.
	16. Mr. M. A. Sankunni.
	17. Mr. V. S. Krishnan Vaidyar.
	18. Dr. Miss. G. M. D'Souza.
	19. Mr. C. S. Viswanatha Ayyar.

The Motion was therefore lost.

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